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FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION
TO KHRUSHCHEV'S 28 OCTOBER LETTER
ON DISMANTLING CUBAN MISSILE BASES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	1
SINO-SOVIET BLOC	1
USSR	1
East European Satellites	4
Communist China	6
Far Eastern Satellites	9
CUBA	9
YUGOSLAVIA	13
NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES	15
Latin America	15
West Europe	18
Asia and the Far East	22
Middle East and Africa	25

Press comment derives mainly from radio sources. In the interest of brevity, newspapers are sometimes cited directly.

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

The dissident Tirana radio, which noted that the Western press viewed the Soviet move as "a victory for U.S. diplomacy," delivers a blistering editorial attack on President Kennedy for "pushing humanity to the brink of the abyss." Only Albania has publicized Castro's statement that the U.S. "guarantees" are unsatisfactory. Khrushchev's role is ignored.

Peking propaganda plays down the Soviet decision to withdraw offensive missiles from Cuba, while putting continuing stress on Cuban defense preparations and casting doubt on the sincerity of the President's "so-called" assurances that Cuba will not be invaded. CPR media assert that the Cubans--like the Chinese--can survive "on their own resources" and have full confidence in "their own might." Not mentioning Soviet support for the Cubans, Peking depicts massive worldwide support and publicizes rallies in the CPR and pledges of backing from Chinese organizations and workers. The central press, according to NCPA press reviews, has given prominence to Castro's 28 October statement, but the Khrushchev-Kennedy exchange of that day--full texts of which are belatedly published--is treated only in passing in a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial of 31 October, the first authoritative CPR comment on the recent events.

Castro's 28 October statement, released three hours after Moscow made Khrushchev's letter public, has been given saturation coverage in Havana media. Khrushchev's letter is published on page 2 of Monday's REVOLUCION, but has never been broadcast in full. Raul Castro's 29 October speech set the tone for heavy radio and TV comment playing up Castro's five-point demand, with special attention to the call for return of Guantanamo, and commentators insist that U Thant has come to Cuba "to negotiate, not to inspect." Referring somewhat more freely to Khrushchev's letter since 30 October, Havana commentators present his decision to dismantle the bases as a wise move aimed at making the Castro regime secure and "forcing Kennedy to negotiate." Wide publicity continues to be given claims of popular support for Cuba in Latin America and throughout the world. Cuba itself is pictured as a nation of arms, ready and able to defend itself against aggression. And additional emphasis has been placed on military preparedness since U Thant's arrival and first talks with Castro.

Yugoslav comment is optimistic, several commentators expressing hope that the accord apparently reached on Cuba can be extended to other East-West issues. Also prevalent is the view that the nonaligned nations played a particularly significant role in bringing about negotiations between the two sides. In lauding both President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev for their responsible attitudes during the crisis, Belgrade says that "especially great credit" is due Mr. Khrushchev.

Latin American radio and press sources reflect the general feeling of relief that the crisis has been overcome. While it is generally agreed that the Soviet Union and Castroism have suffered a major rebuff with Moscow's decision to remove the offending bases, with a corresponding increase in American prestige and in President Kennedy's stature as a world leader, there is considerable ambivalence in defining the ultimate meaning of the apparent resolution of the crisis: a pervasive theme is the conviction that Castro has been revealed as a mere puppet manipulated at will by his Soviet masters and completely ignored when vital decisions had to be made; at the same time there is emphasis on the continuing threat which he presents and speculation that he may even be emboldened in his efforts to subvert the hemisphere by the mutual guarantees given as part of the agreement which dissipated the crisis.

West European comment, which during the height of the crisis reflected a wide range of opinion both approving and somewhat skeptical of the American initiative, is virtually unanimous in hailing the Soviet back-down as a victory for the President's firmness, and as a testimony to the correctness of the course the President chose. British comment, which had been somewhat critical, in the end hails the President's "cool head and steady nerves" and the statesmanship he demonstrated in his readiness for conciliation. While it is widely noted that many problems lie ahead, and that some Soviet counteraction can yet be expected in an effort to offset this setback, the resolution of the crisis is seen as a "step toward peace," as an eye-opener to the Russians concerning American willingness to fight to protect its vital interests, and as a possible forerunner to further dialogues between the two sides "dominated by commonsense and justice." There is no feeling that the Cuban threat has been eliminated by these developments, and the Swiss TRIBUNE DE GENEVE echoes a repetitive theme in declaring that the U.S. pledge of nonintervention may permit Castro to continue the subversion of Latin America. Some sources think Moscow's submission to U.S. pressure in this instance may make it more difficult in the future for the West to remain adamant when pressure is applied from the other side.

In the Far East, Japanese comment is mixed. Expressions of relief that the crisis has been overcome without war are mingled with comment critical of both sides. Praise of the President, and labeling of Moscow's decision as a "considerable defeat" accompany frequent references to the statesmanship demonstrated by both sides and laudatory references to Premier Khrushchev as a peacemaker who drew the world back from the brink of war. The Nationalist Chinese are gratified that the West so successfully stood up to the communists, but at the same time express concern at future concessions which may be demanded as a quid pro quo. Both South Korea and South Vietnam express relief and gratification while noting that caution is necessary to deal with future Soviet trickery. Australian commentators emphasize that the President's actions have been "entirely vindicated" by the outcome, while noting that elation must be tempered with caution.

In the Middle East, Israeli sources view the end of the crisis as a victory for American resolution which has strengthened the U.S. position as the leader of the Western world. The prospects for peace are said to have been improved by the equilibrium achieved between the two blocs. The UAR radio says the solution should hasten a search for a more permanent detente through a U.N. "peace conference" with disarmament talks to be held under the aegis of the nonaligned nations. The Syrian radio is effusive in its praise of Khrushchev's "brave and noble stand," which allegedly saved humanity from destruction. Iraqi comment is meager but critical of U.S. actions. Iranian, Greek, and Turkish sources followed the news closely and express great satisfaction with the easing of the crisis, and the President's "brilliant victory," as the Iranian radio put it. The independent African states generally express satisfaction with the outcome, with most noting the contribution that the nonbloc states made to an easing of the crisis. Both sides are congratulated for their restraint and statesmanlike acceptance of their responsibility for world peace.

SUMMARY

Radio Moscow has publicized Khrushchev's 28 October letter in full or in substantial summary form some 195 times in broadcasts beamed worldwide, and has heavily played the President's statement and letter of reply. Unable to keep up with the fast-moving developments, Moscow was still broadcasting foreign-language texts of Khrushchev's 27 October message an hour after the letter of the 28th was released. With none of the customary support propaganda prepared, broadcasters focused for several hours on reportage of worldwide relief and Soviet and worldwide acclaim for a Soviet "initiative" that "saved the world from the abyss of thermonuclear war."

There has been considerable Soviet stress on new prospects for peaceful settlement of "many" complex international questions by negotiation, though without singling out the areas for negotiation specified in Khrushchev's 28 October letter. There is brief but warm praise for the U.N. role. There has been some revival of the notion that removal of Soviet bases in Cuba might be matched by elimination of U.S. bases in Turkey, although the theme has not been strenuously pressed so far. A sign that Moscow propaganda may return to other elements of Khrushchev's 27 October letter is contained in a TASS report that many U.N. delegates are citing the passage in the 27 October letter which said an agreement on Cuba might facilitate a nuclear test ban.

Moscow has displayed some sensitivity to observations by "Western commentators" that the USSR was the one to retreat. Nothing, Moscow tells foreign audiences, could be further from the truth. Broadcasts tailored for Cuban listeners state that a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba "is precisely what the Soviet Union and the Cuban Government have tried to achieve all the time," and that the "Soviet rockets" in Cuba can now be safely dismantled because President Kennedy has been "made" to disclaim any intention of invading Cuba. Soviet media have reported Castro's statement of 28 October in full, but have said very little about his five-point demands. There are, however, some comments now to the effect that the tension is reduced but not ended, and some references to "certain leading Americans" who still call for an invasion.

East European satellite reaction combines expressions of relief at the lessening of tension with appreciation for Khrushchev's "victory for peace." The comment is generally moderate in tone and optimistic with respect to future East-West relations--although Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have carried references to "hotheads" and "rash views" by implication in the bloc, which disapproved of Soviet moderation during the crisis. A Budapest broadcast, praising Khrushchev, U Thant, and Bertrand Russell for having "done the most to preserve peace," adds that "it is not impossible that President Kennedy's name will be mentioned in history."

While the Cuban people and their "revolution" have drawn extensive praise in propaganda, there have been relatively few references to Castro personally. Moscow has prominently publicized the exchange of messages between U Thant and Castro which led to the U.N. supervisory role in Cuba; and TASS, after some delay, carried in full Castro's 28 October statement spelling out his five demands including the "restoration" of Guantanamo naval base to Cuba. But Moscow commentators have virtually ignored the five demands. There was no comment until the 31st, when Shragin provides a mild endorsement in a broadcast to Cuba: Shragin notes simply that Castro's conditions "answer the interests of normalizing the situation in the Caribbean and of assuring the independence and integrity of the Cuban republic." The application of these measures, he says, "would benefit all peoples."

Increasing stress has been placed on the theme that the USSR saved world peace by exacting U.S. disclaimers of military action against Cuba. A PRAVDA article asserts that it is now "impossible to implement the initial Pentagon plans for a military invasion of the island of freedom, and . . . the Pentagon had to beat a retreat." A Soviet regional broadcast states that "the retreat of the United States in the Caribbean conflict was the result of the firm policy of the Soviet Union and the peoples' struggle for restraining the aggressors."

At the same time, Moscow displays sensitivity to observations by some "Western commentators" that the Soviet Union was the one to retreat. A broadcast in French assails those who "talk about a military setback for the Soviet Union by making out that the USSR had to yield to force" and who state that for the first time Khrushchev had to accept "conditions imposed by the United States." Nothing, the commentator says, is further from the truth: The Soviet Union sought only to bring about a detente in the Cuban area, and its success in this is a "major victory for Soviet policy." A TASS commentator reiterates that "it would be a big mistake" to speak of a "retreat" by the Soviet Union. Millions of people, it adds, not only have faith in the "immutable" peace policy of the Soviet Union, but also "believe in the defensive might of the Soviet Union and see in it a reliable bulwark preventing imperialism from starting another war."

In a commentary tailored for Cuban listeners, Moscow implies that the Cuban Government shares--or should share--in this appraisal of victory. It asserts that a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba "is precisely what the Soviet Union and the Cuban Government have tried to achieve all the time." A commentary broadcast three times exclusively to Cuba--making the first unequivocal admission in Moscow propaganda that "Soviet rockets" have been installed in Cuba--explains that "the Soviet rockets on your island" were "destined to serve as a guarantee against aggression and can now be removed because President Kennedy has been made to disclaim any intentions of invading Cuba. Commentaries broadcast repeatedly to Cuba cite passages in Khrushchev's 28 October letter in which he pledges continuing support for Cuba. In sharp contrast with

these reassurances to the Cuban people is an English-language broadcast to North America which asserts that because President Kennedy "assured" that the United States will not invade Cuba, the USSR has no need to give defense aid to the island republic."

While in the wake of the weekend exchange of notes Moscow had cut back and somewhat softened its attacks on U.S. "aggression" against Cuba, the 31st such attacks were being renewed. An English-language broadcast to Europe typifies this comment: "The tension, though considerably reduced, has not disappeared altogether Efforts are being made to increase it again." Moscow voices open alarm over statements in U.S. papers and by "certain leading Americans" who "still call for an invasion." A Shragin commentary on the 31st assaults Senators Capehart and Goldwater for demanding "harsher action toward Cuba." TASS quotes a PRAVDA commentary as warning that "the strict fulfillment of the pledges assumed by the United States to respect the integrity of Cuban territory is acquiring special importance" in view of continuing anti-Castro activities in the United States. There are only sporadic references, however, to U.S. air incursions over Cuban and Soviet territory.

Recent Moscow propaganda contains a moderate revival of the notion that removal of Soviet bases in Cuba might be matched by elimination of U.S. bases in Turkey, but the theme is not strenuously pressed. There are also signs that the propaganda may hark back to other elements of Khrushchev's 27 October letter: Thus a 31 October TASS report on U.N. deliberations says "representatives of many countries" are citing the passage from Khrushchev's 27 October message to the President in which he said that an agreement on the Cuban problem "might be a good beginning and, specifically, facilitate a nuclear test ban agreement."

B. East European Satellites

Satellite propaganda reaction to Khrushchev's letter of 28 October and the President's response combines expressions of relief at the lessening of tension with approbation for Khrushchev's "victory for peace," as a result of which the U.S. has "been compelled" to give up the quarantine and renounce invasion of Cuba. With the exception of East Germany, the comment is generally moderate in tone and optimistic with respect to future East-West relations. Warsaw takes the lead in pointing out the increased possibilities for solution of other issues through negotiation. Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have carried comments referring to "hotheads" and "rash views"--by implication, in the bloc--critical of Soviet moderation. Only Albania reports on Castro's statement that the U.S. "guarantees" are unsatisfactory.

The Bulgarian news agency BTA reports, in a 28 October English language broadcast, that domestic radio programs were interrupted several times for bulletins on the Khrushchev letter and the President's statement, and that the populace greeted the news "with interest, satisfaction, and relief." RABOTNICHESKO DELO's editorial on 29 October stresses the importance of the President's "guarantees" against invasion of Cuba, hinting at the existence of some disapprobation of the Soviet action: "If there are still some hotheads," it says, "they must understand that the Soviet Union is taking these measures because the immunity of Cuba is guaranteed." (A Prague domestic service commentary on 26 October, discussing the blockade of Cuba, had also indicated that discordant views had manifested themselves over the proper Soviet response: Noting that a tendency not to aggravate the situation "is becoming more and more apparent," the commentator said that "earlier there appeared many rash views that the Soviet ships, regardless of the situation and its development, ought to sail through at any price and at once. I repeat: at any price and at once.")

An editorial in the Sofia paper ZEMEDELISKO ZHIVANE on 30 October notes approvingly that the Soviet Union "did not give in" but "gave a quiet response to the insolent challenge." Sofia further underscores its endorsement of Khrushchev's action--though indirectly--by belatedly broadcasting, on the evening of 30 October, an 8 October interview with Party First Secretary Zhivkov in which he stresses "wholehearted" Bulgarian support for Soviet proposals in the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The Czechoslovak press agency CTK reports that the 30 October RUDE PRAVO pays tribute to "the tremendous peace endeavors of the Soviet Union." CTK quotes PRACE, the trade union paper, to the effect that the United States has at last "been compelled" to renounce armed attack against Cuba.

East German reaction is slower in coming and harsher in tone than the Bulgarian and Czech, though stopping short of suggesting a direct linkage between the Cuban and Berlin situations. Late on 29 October, East German broadcasts spoke gloatingly of "adventurers" who through their own fault "lose their nerve completely," and the 30 October NEUES DEUTSCHLAND asserts that the U.S. "has been unmasked as the worst enemy of freedom and self-determination of nations." Like PRAVDA of the same date, the editorial stresses that the danger of invasion is not yet past, adding that "extremists" in the United States and "their cronies in Bonn" have not yet resigned themselves on this score.

Hungarian, Polish, and Rumanian comment is smaller in volume but similar in tone to Bulgarian and Czech reaction. Budapest radio reports press comment of 29 October emphasizing relief at the satisfactory outcome of the crisis. MUGLAR NEMZET is reported as saying that the U.S. blockade necessitated "precautionary measures" by the Warsaw Pact states,

but that "this does not mean that we have abandoned our principles, seeming to imply some Warsaw Pact participation in the Soviet attack." A later Budapest broadcast says that Khrushchev, U Thant, and Bartlett Russell have done the most to preserve peace, but adds that "it is not impossible that in assessing the efforts aimed at averting war, President Kennedy's name will also be mentioned in history." The 30 October TRYBUNA LUDU is reported by Warsaw PAP, in an English transmission, as welcoming the increased possibility of solving other East-West differences through negotiation. The paper's reference to U.S. bases in Turkey and the "problem" of West Germany as an "outpost of aggression" is one of the few instances in satellite comment of an effort to draw a connection between the Cuban crisis and the Berlin question. Bucharest radio on 28 October broadcast the text of Khrushchev's 28 October message and the President's rejection of Khrushchev's 27 October proposal. It followed, on 29 October, with comment praising the latest Soviet message.

Tirana radio on 29 October carried only brief TASS reports on the 28 October exchange of messages, after noting tersely on 28 October that the Western press "considers this move a victory for U.S. diplomacy." On 30 October, Tirana broadcast the text of a ZERI I POPULLIT editorial which ignoring Khrushchev--delivers a blistering attack on President Kennedy for "pushing humanity to the brink of the abyss." The editorial also asserts that the President said that, to save West Berlin, he "would not hesitate to use the atomic bomb, if necessary, in the Caribbean, in Berlin, or anywhere else." While Khrushchev's 27 October Cuba-Turkey bases trade letter was promptly broadcast textually by Tirana the same day, it was not until 30 October, according to the Tirana press review, that the press published texts of the President's 27 October message and both 28 October messages, as well as Fidel Castro's statement that he finds the "guarantee" inadequate. This is the only East European reference to this statement in available propaganda. Tirana newscasts of 30 October also reported a TA KUNG PAO editorial describing a Peking rally for solidarity with Cuba.

C. Communist China

Peking propaganda since 28 October has conspicuously played down the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw offensive missiles from the island, stressed the popular support for the Cuban cause throughout the world--particularly in the CFR itself--and noted the Cuban people's readiness to repulse "with their own might" a new invasion from the United States.

These themes are prominent in the first authoritative reaction to the Khrushchev-Kennedy exchange of 28 October: A PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial on 31 October, as reviewed by KCMR, declares that the people of the world must maintain "maximum vigilance" since under no circumstances can the "promises" of the U.S. "aggressors" be trusted. The editorial says that after Khrushchev announced his decision to withdraw "so-called offensive weapons" from Cuba, the President--instead of removing the naval and intensified military preparations for an invasion. The paper calls on Cuban people for demonstrating their revolutionary spirit of never submitting or surrendering to the aggressor and states that "the honor of being a socialist country" requires that the people must be ready to repulse any new invasion.

the revolutionary experience of the Cuban people "proves that the strength and unity of the oppressed people is the greatest and most reliable ally. The fate of history is decided by the masses of people who are brave, armed, who dare to fight and dare to win, not by the mass which the imperialists and the reactionaries deem all-powerful." It pledges the support of the Chinese people for the Cuban cause, saying that the two people are comrades-in-arms who will withstand "any serious test."

Although Khrushchev's 27 October letter to the President proposing a trade for Cuban bases trade received fairly extensive treatment, Peking has not given his 28 October letter little publicity. A brief report of Khrushchev's decision to withdraw missiles appeared in PEOPLE'S DAILY of 29 October. The texts of the 27 October Khrushchev-Kennedy exchange, and KGB and the Peking domestic service carried short summaries of the decision on the same day. But it was not until 30 October that the text was printed in PEOPLE'S DAILY, along with the President's reply, at the bottom of page three. The KGB press review--which reported at the end of its section on Cuba that the paper had published Khrushchev's 28 October letter--stated that the Peking press of that day "gave prominence" to Castro's "important" statement of 28 October, which had been broadcast textually by Radio Peking the day after it was issued.

Peking has continued to reaffirm CHR support for the Cuban cause, declaring in the words of a 29 October TA KUNG PAO editorial, that the Chinese people regard it as their "sacred international obligation" to give all possible aid to the Cuban revolution and that they "will remain steadfast to the Cuban people, whatever storms the U.S. imperialists raise." The paper also stresses that the Chinese people "are convinced that the Cuban people, who have won their revolution by relying on their own resources, will certainly be able to safeguard their revolutionary gains by relying on themselves." In this connection, the paper commends the Chinese example to the Cubans, pointing out that the CHR itself has successfully withstood a U.S. blockade. This point, reminiscent of earlier Peking assertions that the "Cuban revolution" can "survive on its own resources," is picked up in a 30 October WORKERS DAILY editorial stating that the Cuban people are fully confident of their revolutionary cause and of "their own might." And PEOPLE'S DAILY of 28 October editorial says that the "Cuban people will surely be able to defeat" any new U.S. aggression.

Peking has pointedly failed to speak of Soviet support for Cuba in picturing massive worldwide backing of the Cuban people. PEOPLE'S DAILY of 30 October rounds up worldwide protests against U.S. war provocations. Other papers note support for the Cubans in Algeria, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Uruguay, and Brazil. Broadcasts to the Arab world on 29 and 30 October report widespread support in North Africa and elsewhere. A paper as cautioning that "surrender in the present circumstances will encourage imperialism . . . and will mean retreat until the end," publicizing the support of other Latin American nations, Peking has to draw a distinction between the "peoples" of these nations and "circles." Thus a 30 October KGB dispatch says that "the Cuban people's fight against U.S. aggression has been closely linked with the fight against the rule of pro-American reactionary forces, and that the people demonstrated in Montevideo 'against the U.S. aggression in the Americas' . . . intention to support the Cuban people's fight against the U.S. aggression."

The adverse OAS vote against Cuba has been portrayed in Peking media as the result of U.S. "blackmail." And NCNA, pointing to reservations against U.S. "armed intervention" in Cuba voiced by such governments as Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia, and Uruguay, states that "threats and bribery" are factors which must be taken into consideration when assessing the attitude of Latin American nations toward Washington. It cites Argentine papers to the effect that as a result of Argentina's vote in support of the Cuban blockade, the United States has agreed to a postponement of the repayment of Argentina's debts. Similarly, Brazil is said by NCNA to have been threatened with a reduction in its coffee export quota unless its policy of nonintervention in Cuba is altered.

While Peking has carried Khrushchev's reply to Bertrand Russell, which raises the possibility that the Cuban crisis could lead to thermonuclear war, CPR comment--including the government statement of 25 October--has in general referred to the U.S. action as "war provocation" and a "threat to world peace." In one of the infrequent CPR references specifically to thermonuclear war in this context, the 31 October PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial says that "no matter how ferociously U.S. imperialism rattles its saber and even threatens to launch a nuclear war," the "heroic Cuban people" cannot be shaken.

Throughout the crisis, Peking has maintained that Cuba faces an imminent invasion from the United States, and recent comment continues in this vein. Numerous Peking broadcasts on 29 October depicted feverish Cuban anti-invasion preparations, and overseas NCNA transmissions the same day carried the 28 October statements by Fidel and Raul Castro casting doubt on President Kennedy's assurance that the United States will not invade Cuba. Supporting the implication that the Cuban crisis has not been ended by the latest Soviet moves, NCNA on 29 October pointedly asserted that the "U.S. bourgeois press and politicians have clamored that in spite of the Soviet agreement to dismantle 'offensive' weapons . . . the Cuban crisis is not over." A 29 October Peking domestic service broadcast alluded to President Kennedy's "so-called" assurance that Cuba would not be invaded. Broadcasts and NCNA dispatches the following day included frequent references to Cuban defense preparations and to U.S. aggressive plans: NCNA reported that the President had ordered the blockade fleet to remain in position "while the United States was taking aggressive steps over the Cuban question, and was still planning armed invasion." The agency cited as evidence Kennedy's continuing meetings with the National Security Council and other advisers, the Florida military buildup, Secretary Rusk's "allegations" that the Cuban Government was connected with dynamiting of a power station in Venezuela, and stepped-up activities of Cuban exiles.

D. Far Eastern Satellites

A Hanoi NHAN DAN editorial on 31 October, transmitted by the VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY, declares that the solidarity of the people of Cuba, the socialist camp, Latin America, Asia, and Africa has "forced the U.S. imperialists to make an initial concession" to give up the blockade and renounce invasion. A Hanoi domestic broadcast early on 30 October contained the first monitored reference from Hanoi to Khrushchev's 28 October message. Prior to this, Hanoi had referred only to the initial Soviet Government statement of 23 October. The 30 October broadcast quoted Secretary of Defense McNamara to the effect that "the United States will continue to engage in military spying activities over Cuba."

Pyeongyang radio through early on 31 October has still failed to mention the Soviet or U.S. messages or any easing of the crisis, but reports protest meetings in support of Cuba, including belligerent anti-U.S. speeches by the Cuban ambassador to North Korea, Lazaro Vigoa.

Ulan Bator radio on 30 October reported publication of the full text of Khrushchev's 27 October message in the 29 October UNEN. Under the heading "A Realistic Proposal Which Meets the Interest of Peace," the paper provided the text of Khrushchev's message proposing liquidation of both Cuban and Turkish bases, accompanied by a roundup of Mongolian and "world protest" against U.S. "aggressive activities" with regard to Cuba.

The Pathet Lao radio on 31 October briefly notes a TASS dispatch reporting that Khrushchev had sent a message to President Kennedy announcing the Soviet decision to dismantle the bases in Cuba.

II. CUBA

Castro's 28 October statement, enumerating five conditions to be met by the United States if the guarantee against invasion of Cuba is to "exist," was broadcast by Havana about three hours after Moscow released Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle and remove missile bases. Havana media had been silent until then on Khrushchev's letter. The opening paragraph of Castro's brief statement referred to the "decision announced" by Khrushchev "withdrawing the installations of arms of strategic defense" from Cuba. Castro's statement was given saturation coverage, being broadcast as many as 30 times in one radio service. It was not until 11 hours after Moscow released the Khrushchev letter that the Havana radio gave its listeners an extensive summary of the Soviet decision. The text of Khrushchev's letter never has been broadcast by Havana, though it is said to have been carried on page three of REVOLUCION for 29 October.

Concentrating on President Kennedy's offer to guarantee that the United States would not invade Cuba provided the missile bases are removed, the Castro statement said that for such a guarantee to be effective the resultant change in U.S. policy must involve suspension of the economic blockade and of "worldwide economic pressure" exerted on Cuba; cessation of attacks on Cuba from U.S. ports by refugees, and of all attempts by refugees to promote revolt against the Castro regime; and the return to Cuba of the Guantanamo naval base.

The statement was silent on the issue of inspection or U.N. supervision of the removal of missiles and bases. In his radio interview of 24 October Castro had bitterly denounced the idea of U.N. supervision and declared that anyone coming to Cuba with the idea of inspection should be prepared for gunfire. Although Khrushchev's letter agreed to adequate supervision or verification by the United Nations, Havana failed to mention this issue from the time of Castro's enunciation of his five points until the afternoon of 29 October, when a PRENSA LATINA dispatch to two Chilean papers quoted from Castro's 24 October interview to illustrate his attitude on the question of U.N. inspection. Reports of U Thant's arrival in Havana on 30 October stated pointedly that U Thant had come "to negotiate, not to inspect."

Castro's original letter to U Thant inviting him to visit Havana, sent prior to the Khrushchev agreement, was publicized by the Havana press and radio. After the release of Khrushchev's letter, and after U Thant had accepted Castro's invitation, Havana media said little about the coming visit, although it was mentioned in a few broadcasts and U Thant's actual arrival in Havana on 30 October was reported promptly. Havana broadcast President Kennedy's rejection of U Thant's original offer, as well as Khrushchev's acceptance, and stressed the "peaceful" efforts of Khrushchev along with Castro's invitation to U Thant. Up to that time Havana had persisted in its claim that the Soviet weapons in Cuba were only "defensive," and had frequently repeated the claim that the photographs presented by Ambassador Stevenson in the U.N. Security Council were faked.

Broadcasts on 31 October, reporting U Thant's first meeting with Castro, say that "the Cuban side fixed clearly its position and points of view without any agreement being reached." These broadcasts also denounce "distorted reports" of U Thant's visit reported by the U.S. press, which "stress that Thant was going to Cuba to resolve the problem of dismantling of the guided missile bases." Actually, according to the Havana radio, it was pointed out in the correspondence between U Thant and Castro that the idea was to discuss "all the important aspects of the problem."

Despite the heavy publicity for Castro's five points, there was very little Havana comment until late on 29 October, more than 24 hours after the statement was released. Raul Castro in a 29 October speech in Oriente Province quoted the statement in full, but commented only on the

demand that the Guantanamo base be relinquished. He described the five points as the "minimum demand," a term used frequently by Cuban propagandists since then. He said that in giving up the base the United States would make use of the "best opportunity for the President of the United States to show that his words are sincere."

Guantanamo is not the only U.S. base on foreign soil, Raul Castro pointed out, but it differs from the others in that the United States has the "legalistic argument that the bases are authorized by the puppet governments" in other instances. In Cuba, he asserted, both the people and the government want the United States to get out. Later propaganda references to Guantanamo generally follow Raul Castro's line. Although several radio and television commentators on 30 October discussed the five points outlined by Fidel Castro, and implied that they must form the basis for discussion with U Thant, the Guantanamo issue rather than the economic blockade or the problem of subversion and counterrevolution was stressed.

The 30 October PRENSA LATINA dispatch to Chilean papers introduced a new element of propaganda concerning Guantanamo: PRENSA LATINA complained that the base had become a center for "reporter information pools" to promote the "criminal irresponsibility" of the U.S. press. These "pools" had "falsified" Raul Castro's speech and had inaccurately ascribed some statements to Fidel Castro that had led to confusion in Bolivia. This charge has not been pursued in subsequent Cuban propaganda.

The bulk of Cuban broadcasts in the period following release of Khrushchev's letter, as during the entire period of the Cuban crisis, has been devoted to projecting an image of a threatened and courageous Cuba supported enthusiastically by popular opinion, especially in Latin America. A hated and aggressive U.S. imperialism was pictured as bitterly opposed by the vast majority of the world's common people. A large proportion of Havana broadcasts has focused on reports of support from hundreds of organizations and groups outside Cuba, pro-Castro statements from leftwing Latin American papers, and anti-American demonstrations. The sabotage in Venezuelan oil installations was given considerable play by Cuban propagandists, but strong exception was taken to U.S. news agency reports that Cubans had directed the sabotage. These reports were called "infamous and absurd," distributed for "perverse and malevolent purposes."

The fact that the OAS voted unanimously to back the U.S. measures against Cuba and that half of its members volunteered to furnish material aid to the blockade is still suppressed, although these are occasional hints that certain Latin American governments--without popular support--have sold out to the imperialists. Raul Castro in his Oriente speech used this line in remarking that "the puppet governments" are one thing and "the peoples they hypocritically claim to represent are another." A special program to the Dominican Republic on 30 October, ostensibly directed by the "Dominican Liberation Front," castigated the Dominican Government for offering its port to the United States during the naval blockade.

Cuban defense efforts continue to be emphasized. Broadcasts picture an enthusiastic military and civil populace working hard to meet the onslaught of a brutal aggressor and confident of victory. Several broadcasts have called for blood donors. The defense effort is said to include production, which has not been allowed to lag because of the military mobilization. One broadcast, in discussing the defense effort, warned that food should not be stored, as this would create "artificial scarcities," and a broadcast late on 30 October appealed to housewives to refrain from purchasing in the morning enough bread to last through the day.

Following U Thant's arrival in Havana, the Havana radio and television network gave added attention to Cuban military strength. The radio on 30 October announced both artillery practices and naval maneuvers, while a television program in the afternoon showed inspection visits to various military posts by Fidel Castro and President Dorticos. The picture showed Cuban troops wearing Russian helmets, long-range artillery pieces, antitank guns, and antiaircraft artillery.

Considerable emphasis is now put on the point first elaborated by Raul Castro that the Cubans want some important move by the United States, such as the return of Guantanamo, because they cannot accept President Kennedy's promises at face value. Two regular Cuban commentators, Kuchilan and Luis Gomez Wanguemert, use this argument in their latest broadcasts. Kuchilan declares: "We are maintaining our state of alert and war footing because the enemy is crafty and armed, and Mr. Kennedy is a solemn liar." Wanguemert asserts: "Our people are well acquainted with the habits and evil cunning of the powerful neighbor to the north." For this reason, he adds, "the Cuban people remain on a war footing, their arms in their hands and ready to repel any aggression."

In referring to Khrushchev's letter, commentators play down the promise to dismantle the missile sites, stressing the "firmness" on the part of Cuba and the USSR, Khrushchev's determination to preserve peace, and worldwide popular support for Cuba. President Kennedy had been "impelled" to give up his plans for aggression and was "forced to negotiate." Khrushchev's decision to remove the missiles, when discussed, is called a wise decision taken for the sole purpose of guaranteeing the Castro regime freedom to carry out its program.

PRENSA LATINA, transmitting to Chilean papers, declares that "socialism has arrived in America and will never depart." President Kennedy also seems to be convinced of this, PRENSA LATINA asserts, because he has "signed a truce which momentarily paralyzes plans for invasion of Cuba." A Havana broadcast in English complains that U.S. news media, the distorting the truth, are ignoring the fact that part of the agreement is a promise that there will be no invasion of Cuba and that the "illegal quarantine" will be lifted. The newspaper REVOLUCION for Tuesday is quoted by PRENSA LATINA as declaring that "the heroism of the Cuban people has again moved the world." For seven days, the paper is quoted as saying,

President Kennedy "prepared against our country all the aggressive forces of the monopolists and the Pentagon." Now "our people and Fidel" again look serenely to the future. Reported in the same dispatch is NOTICIAS DE HOY's statement that if the United States is sincere, it must begin by "dismantling the gigantic criminal machinery . . . set up to attack our people."

Havana did not report that the naval blockade had been lifted for 48 hours until U Thant arrived in Cuba. Prior to that, the radio had apparently sought to convey the idea that the blockade was ineffective by presenting speakers from "the first Cuban ship to break the imperialist blockade." A television commentator remarked that despite the blockade, "the Soviet merchantmen have kept coming to our country. Oil and other shipments are still coming from that distant friendly country."

An announcement on the afternoon of 30 October says that Fidel Castro will "speak to the world" over radio and television on Thursday. So far there has been little further advance publicity for this speech.

III. YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade radio's reportage and comment on Khrushchev's 28 October message dominate broadcast materials on the 28th and 29th, reaching a total of approximately 75 percent of broadcast time 29 October. Belgrade maintains a relatively objective stance, carrying reports from its correspondents in New York and Moscow of American, Soviet, United Nations, and world reaction stressing the theme that the Khrushchev-Kennedy exchange of messages represents a definite advance toward a solution of world problems, such as disarmament and that, while great credit must go to the two leaders, especially Khrushchev, the nonaligned nations may also claim some credit for the part they played. Belgrade's dominant theme of optimism for the future culminates in a Ranko Lozo report from New York forecasting an imminent summit meeting and a possible Soviet-American agreement on the peaceful use of space.

Belgrade's first report of the Khrushchev message strikes the mild note characteristic of its entire treatment of the subject, noting that first reactions at the United Nations were that the crisis had finally been overcome and there was no longer any basis for military steps threatening peace. A Moscow report by Kicevic describes Moscow sources as believing the Khrushchev message to be a decisive step toward peaceful solution of the problem. The same newscast carries a New York report stating that American radio and television termed the Khrushchev message "a great and perhaps decisive contribution to the solution of the crisis." Mounting Belgrade attention to the Cuban events is typified by the radio's 0300 GMT newscast 29 October, almost entirely devoted to the subject. The radio reports President Kennedy's message to Khrushchev as expressing American hopes that a serious step can be made on the disarmament question and American readiness to discuss such problems urgently and in a constructive spirit in Geneva and elsewhere. U Thant's acceptance of Castro's

invitation to visit Cuba is reported, as are the Zoryn talks with U Thant and expressions of pleasure over the outcome of the issue voiced by the Norwegian premier, an Italian foreign office spokesman, and the Swedish and Danish foreign ministers.

The radio notes a BORBA commentary stressing that commonsense and peace have prevailed in the crisis and carries a Dimitrijevic commentary asserting that the basic tenor of Western press reaction to the 28 October message exchange is that "the worst has passed." Another commentary, by Dragoljub Katic, asserts that while credit must go to the leaders, Khrushchev foremost, of the two major powers involved in the dispute, the nonaligned countries must not be too modest in claiming some credit for the role they played in bringing about a resolution of the crisis. A Moscow report by Kicevic broadcast the evening of 29 October says that Moscow sources believe if the Cuban situation is solved in an appropriate manner, the way may be opened to "a period of pacification" and the solution of other problems, such as that of a test ban.

Belgrade continues extensive reportage of Cuban developments throughout 29 and 30 October, carrying factual reports of U Thant's impending visit to Cuba and his talks with Kuznetsov, Kennedy's appointment of a special committee to deal with the solution of the Cuban problem, a United States Defense Department spokesman's statement that the quarantine will remain in effect until the United Nations introduces inspection, the White House announcement that the United States will suspend the quarantine during U Thant's visit to Cuba at his request, Raul Castro's statement, a TASS commentary asserting that the United States must prove by deeds its statement that it will not attack Cuba, and messages by Nkrumah and Nehru regarding the Cuban situation sent to Khrushchev, Kennedy, and Castro.

Highlighting Belgrade's 29 October newscasts are the texts of messages exchanged between President Tito and Brazil's President Goulart. In his message Tito emphasizes the need to abolish the quarantine and to stop shipment of offensive arms to Cuba and indicates that the United Nations is the instrument which "can and should act more effectively to bring an end to the crisis." Tito adds that it would be useful for the leaders of the nonaligned and independent countries "to become personally involved" by sending messages to the chairman of the Security Council and the General Assembly--a move which he says he intends to make "in the nearest future." A BORBA commentary reviewed by Belgrade radio early 30 October maintains that "more attention should be devoted to the countries of the Latin American region and that broader solutions should be sought to stabilize peace in this sphere."

IV. NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A. Latin America

Venezuela: Caracas and San Cristobal radios, while noting that Khrushchev's decision to remove the rocket bases from Cuba has confirmed Castro's role as a mere puppet of an outside power, warn that Castroism remains a threat to democracies in the Americas. Radio Contiente of Caracas says Khrushchev's action reveals a "great truth" about Castro--that he was not only willing to provide Cuban soil for nuclear bases, but that he was willing to provide "a foothold for an awesome attack against continental democracy and our nation's sovereignty." The radio observes that Castro has "emerged as a fraud" and a "pathetic puppet who meekly submits to the whims of extracontinental bosses."

The Caracas independent daily LA ESFERA calls for the overthrow of the communist regime in Cuba, while the progovernment daily LA REPUBLICA, also of Caracas, says Castro must stop creating disturbances in other Latin American countries before his government can be respected. LA REPUBLICA says Khrushchev's action is a retreat but that he is trying to cover it up by the allegation that Washington will now respect the Cuban regime. The paper adds: "Something must be done" to make Castro promise "seriously and formally not to meddle in the internal affairs of other nations of the Americas."

San Cristobal's radio Ecos del Torbes quotes R. Ramon Escovar Salom, head of the Progressive Republican Movement, as declaring that dismantling of the bases is "not enough" and that "Sino-Soviet penetration of the Americas via Havana is intolerable." The head of the Democratic Action Party, Dr. Raul Leoni, is quoted by Caracas radio as asserting that the dismantling of the bases shows that Castro's country has been "turned into a beachhead for extracontinental military penetration." Venezuelan radios continue to report special vigilance by public security forces, and a government warning that anyone disseminating reports that cause panic, discouragement, or disorder will be tried for treason. Caracas reports a message from the Venezuelan chamber of deputies to U.N. Secretary U Thant supporting his efforts to maintain peace.

Colombia: Bogota's Radio Cadena Nacional carries numerous news reports on the developing situation, including the observation that "international political observers concede a Kennedy victory." Bogota AFP reports that Colombians felt a sense of relief on learning that the "imminence of world war" had dissipated. The entire press of 29 October praised

President Kennedy, AFP adds. Other reports note that Castro has been silent following the Khrushchev move, that the United States is continuing its precautions in the event negotiations do not succeed, and that Khrushchev may have lost prestige in his own government.

RCN reports that Colombian armed forces reduced the special measures that were taken when the crisis was at its peak. The Bogota RCN also reports that the Liberal Revolutionary Movement has stated that whereas the party formerly was in agreement with Castro on social issues, it can no longer maintain this position in view of the fact that "Khrushchev is managing the Caribbean from Moscow and is using the premier as a puppet." EL TIEMPO of Bogota comments that the Russian move to remove the bases is worthy of praise and believes it has opened the door to an understanding on many of the issues that caused the United States to take a determined stand. Bogota's Radio Santa Fe says the United States has bolstered its international credit and that the Russians have taken Castro's armaments and left him with "nothing to do but continue firing his high-caliber rantings over radio and television."

Bolivia: Radio La Cruz del Sur, of La Paz, comments that Khrushchev has made Fidel Castro appear as a "mere deputy." The radio says Cubans only recently became aware of the fact that Cuba possessed missiles, and that the "real boss was Nikita--not Fidel." Another commentator of the same station notes that Khrushchev sent arms to Cuba secretly for a long time but now has admitted it in his message to President Kennedy. The La Paz radio also reports, however, that the leftist national mine-workers conference adopted a resolution supporting Cuba.

Panama: Panama City's Circuito RPC says Khrushchev's action has removed any doubts that Castro has made a total sell-out to the Soviet Union. The station says the fact that Khrushchev did not consult Castro on the missile withdrawal "could not have been more humiliating for the Cuban puppet." Radio Mis, also of Panama City, says Khrushchev has "clearly demonstrated" that he gives the orders in Cuba, and that he ignores Castro's opinions, but warns that the Cuban threat must be eliminated once and for all. The radio declares that the "time has come to extirpate the cancer that has pierced the head of the Americas." The OAS, it is suggested, "has the obligation to adopt all appropriate measures to dissolve this absurd, bloody, and totalitarian regime." Another Panama City commentator terms the Khrushchev order dismantling the bases a "black day for the Reds." Panama City's Radio Nacional and Radio Miramar relay direct Voice of American broadcasts on the developing situation following the Khrushchev note, and Panamanian television

stations carry extensive films on the situation. A Televisora Nacional commentator notes the Brazilian proposal for the "denuclearization" of Africa and Latin America and says the Brazilian initiative deserves "great consideration."

Brazil: In addition to widespread expressions of hope that present developments will lead, through the United Nations, to agreement on disarmament, Brazilian sources devote considerable attention to the Brazilian proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in Latin America. The Brazilian press, according to AFP, regards the latest developments in the Cuban crisis as a "beautiful victory" for Brazil's policy. Although President Kennedy also receives some praise, the press continues to insist on "self-determination" for Cuba. SAFORITI news agency reports rumors that the stability of the Goulart Government is threatened by leftist parties still angry over Brazil's OAS vote for the U.S. quarantine.

Costa Rica: San Jose's Radio Reloj sees four results of the "dramatic events" culminating in the Khrushchev decision: 1) the beginning of the end of Castro as a heroic symbol; 2) more respect for the United States; 3) firmer solidarity between the United States and NATO; and 4) renewed unity in the American Continent against the threat posed by the communist world. The radio says some leaders of the Soviet Union might feel resentment over the situation and a new schism in the communist world could develop. Castro, despite his proclamations of adherence to Marxist-Leninism, was not consulted and appeared alarmed and furious over the Khrushchev move, the radio declares. Another Radio Reloj commentary refers to "Russia's surrender" and the "victory of U.S. policy."

Radio Monumental of San Jose carries a resolution of the Union of Workers of the Municipal Council of Cartago which says the Cuban revolution "is dead" and that Fidel Castro has emerged as a symbol of "tyranny, treachery, and dishonor." The resolution praises the "great unity between the North American and Costa Rican people." In an interview with Radio Monumental, Costa Rican Foreign Minister Daniel Oduber Quiros says Cuba's regime has become a Russian satellite government, and that Russia considers Castro a mere card in the world political game rather than a responsible ally.

Honduras: Tegucigalpa's Radio Centro carries a statement of the Government Public Relations Office which denounces the "call to subversion" made by Radio Havana and asserts the Honduran Government's "determination to act in the strongest way wherever any event arises in Honduras that is aimed at fulfilling orders emanating from Havana."

Peru: A Lima Radio America commentator says the victory of the United States "has been overwhelming from every standpoint, considering the proportions of the crisis threatening peace and security in the continent." The commentator says Khrushchev had to "capitulate" in the face of President Kennedy's "firm, resolute action," and that Castro has been left with nothing to show but the absurdity of his role as a "servant and slave of the Russians." The Russian move, it is said, should serve to lessen world tension. Lima's domestic service notes that President Kennedy sent a message of thanks to President Perez Godoy for his support.

Paraguay: Radio Encarnacion says Castro now has no alternative but to allow the inspection of the guided missile bases installed by the Soviets on his island in view of the pressing demands of the United Nations. The Paraguayan transmitter says this can be considered a setback to Soviet policy--a setback Khrushchev will have to explain to other Red leaders. Another Radio Encarnacion commentary says Khrushchev "had to retreat."

Argentina: The news agency SAVORITI says a television program in Buenos Aires on 29 October included the observation of Dr. Julio Arcoeda, last Argentine Ambassador to Havana, that the blockade of Cuba did not violate the principles of self-determination, and that there is now ample proof of Soviet intervention in Cuba. It was declared that Castro's regime was acting in the service of international communism.

Mexico: A commentary by Barrios Gomez, broadcast by the Mexico City radio, says that fortunately Khrushchev was not as senseless as Hitler when he failed to withdraw his troops from Warsaw. Noting that Castro has now been isolated, Barrios Gomez says President Kennedy now knows where the shoe pinches that Khrushchev used to pound his United Nations desk.

Other Countries: Radios monitored from Uruguay, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador carried numerous reports on the situation but no comment was heard. Guatemalan radios, however, were heard to relay Voice of America broadcasts.

B. West Europe

West Germany: West German press and radio comment on the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange is heavy. Although the sentiment prevails that Kennedy's prestige is now greater than ever, and that the Soviets have suffered a clearcut defeat, commentators warn of possible strong Soviet retaliatory action elsewhere.. Radio and press emphasize that President Kennedy's firmness, rather than Khrushchev's love of peace, is responsible for the sudden Soviet decision.

DIE WELT, Hamburg independent, points out that the Cuban crisis has made one thing clear: that world peace was preserved only through

Kennedy's firmness. DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Cologne progovernment paper, asserts that Khrushchev finally recognized this American determination.

Most papers and radio commentators are quick to point out, however, that Khrushchev does not intend to accept defeat without seeking compensation in other areas, with RHEINISCHE POST, Duesseldorf progovernment, adding that the swiftness with which Khrushchev abandoned his Cuban position is a definite indication of this possibility. Typical of other comment along this line is that of GENERAL-ANZEIGER, Bonn progovernment, which predicts that Khrushchev will exploit his gesture as a savior of peace by wresting U.S. concessions on Berlin, and that of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, pro-opposition, which asserts that Khrushchev will make up for his withdrawal by a diplomatic advance elsewhere. Olaf von Wrangel, in commenting over Radios Hamburg and Cologne, believes that the Soviets will attempt to establish a bridgehead elsewhere in order to negotiate the elimination of some NATO base or even Berlin.

In a more positive vein, several papers express hope for direct negotiations between Washington and Moscow as a result of the agreement reached between Kennedy and Khrushchev on the Cuban missile sites, but Wolf Rochlage, speaking over Radio Mainz, fears that these negotiations might possibly violate the interests of smaller nations.

Official Bonn reaction, while coinciding with that expressed in the press and radio, is accompanied by a note of concern. Press services of the leading parties caution against premature exultation and excessive optimism. Several papers report and agree with the statement by CDU/CSU floorleader Von Brentano that in return for the Cuban concession Moscow will demand the elimination of NATO bases and revive the demilitarized zones project.

The only negative reaction is that of the Hamburg newsmagazine DER SPIEGEL which criticizes Kennedy for having acted without proper justification and with brute force, and for his failure to consult his allies. According to DER SPIEGEL, Kennedy, "ruling the Western world in cowboy style," has shown how the next war may break out: the world will slip into the third world war because of inadequately assessed risks and a tension-relieving now-or-never attitude.

Great Britain: Extensive British press comment, as reviewed by London's general overseas service, ranges from expressions of "relief" and "great satisfaction" to statements reflecting great doubt that the crisis has, in fact, been resolved. These doubts are contained in such statements as: "Khrushchev has climbed down so quickly, so meekly, that the picture just does not fit"; "it is always a perilous procedure to take Khrushchev at face value"; and "Is it possible that Soviet acceptance of the principle of verification may lead to a breakthrough in the deadlock over disarmament and nuclear testing?"

The prevailing feeling that President Kennedy handled the situation admirably is reflected in the London DAILY MAIL's observation that the crisis was handled "subtly" by one with a "cool head and steady nerves." The GUARDIAN comments that Kennedy is to be commended for his decisive action, and, then, his readiness to be conciliatory. For the first time in 16 years, the GUARDIAN adds, the Russians were forced into retreat, by the "resourceful and courageous" Mr. Kennedy.

France: Although Khrushchev's agreement to withdraw his missile bases from Cuba is widely reported, French comment is concerned primarily with the results of the De Gaulle referendum. Paris radio commentator Maurice Ferro expresses surprise that this issue was settled directly between the two great powers, and that there was no role for European mediators. This, Ferro says, can only lead the European observer to ask himself: Why is Europe not building itself into a political and economic unit? He concludes: "Europe should not delay in uniting with Great Britain to form a power with greater economic power than either of the two big thermonuclear powers--a power, thanks to Britain and France, which will also possess an atomic deterrent."

Italy: The Italian press, reviewed by Rome radio, tends to view the outcome as a "step toward peace" rather than a victory for either side. "If the positive development of the Cuban crisis results in negotiations dominated by commonsense and justice," LA STAMPA writes, "the anxiety of these last few days will have served a great purpose." IL MESSAGGERO hopes that with Khrushchev apparently having become a realist regarding Cuba, he will apply the same attitude to other international issues so that "peace and security will no longer be just a theoretical image."

Switzerland: The Swiss press, reviewed by DPA, stresses President Kennedy's victory over Khrushchev, but not without giving the Soviet Premier some credit. The NATIONAL ZEITUNG of Basle writes that while Khrushchev has been taught a lesson, he has been able "to retreat without losing face." LA SUISSE notes the possibility that Khrushchev's latest declaration may be a maneuver "designed to incline world public opinion toward unilateral action in other parts of the world." TRIBUNE DE GENEVE writes that the U.S. pledge of nonintervention in Cuba will permit the Castro regime to continue its bloc-inspired subversion of Latin America.

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Austria: The exchange of messages between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev draws extensive comment in the Austrian radio and press. Austrian radio commentator Ostry believes that it was the fine balance of nuclear power which saved the world from war, and expresses hope that the Cuban crisis may mark a turning point in world history since it has demonstrated that war has outlived its role as a means of politics. He pleads for a reform of international law, adjusting it to the changed conditions with the ultimate goal of replacing the balance of terror with a "balance of justice."

Press comment, very pro-American in tenor, generally depicts the outcome as an American success and unanimously lauds the show of American firmness. Opinions as to how the Russians fared show up in the headlines which speak, on the one hand, of the "greatest Western victory since 1945," and, on the other, of a "perfectly logical action by the Kremlin." The editorial attitude toward Khrushchev is frequently one of grudging respect, even in some pronouncedly anticommunist editorials. Several writers say he showed "great statesmanship," while another sees him as a master gambler who made the best of a lost game. Some editorials, such as that of the semiofficial WIENER ZEITUNG, see need for caution, events having demonstrated that "firmness applied in proper doses can be effective." The independent KURIER charges Khrushchev with having gone back on his own professed principles of coexistence by trying to alter the status quo, and says he had to withdraw quickly "to avoid being rapped hard on the knuckles" by the United States. The Catholic KLEINE ZEITUNG compares Khrushchev to a robber who is now patted on the back because he put his gun back into his pocket after a better armed policeman appeared on the scene.

Some papers express concern over possible Soviet retaliation, conceivably in Berlin, and some feel uneasy about the possibility of Khrushchev's being overthrown by a belligerent Kremlin faction. In this connection, ARBEITER-ZEITUNG recalls the disillusionment caused by earlier sudden aboutfaces in Soviet policy such as the Hungarian revolution and the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests. DIE FREISE asserts that Kennedy's initiative may have averted another Berlin crisis since the test of strength in the Caribbean Sea has considerably narrowed Moscow's freedom of action and has accentuated the risks.

C. Asia and the Far East

Japan: Premier Khrushchev's letter is unanimously hailed as a favorable turn of events by the Japanese press and radio-TV, which describe it with such expressions of relief as "an unexpected concession," "a drastic compromise," and "a considerable defeat." Comments generally stress that a way has been found to solve the Cuban crisis, thereby removing the threat of thermonuclear war.

All leading newspapers carry Khrushchev's message to President Kennedy as their lead story in text form or full summary under banner headlines such as "Sudden Turn of Events Toward U.S.-Soviet Settlement Over Cuba," "Offensive Weapons To Be Withdrawn," "Cuban Crisis Avoided," and "Soviet Union Withdraws From Cuba." At the same time President Kennedy's statement welcoming Khrushchev's decision is given prominence by the press in bold print: "Welcomes Move As Statesmanlike Step Toward Peace" and "Hails Action As Important Contribution To Peace."

Describing Khrushchev as a peace-maker who stopped the world "on the brink of nuclear war," YOMIURI asserts: "On the surface it may seem as if the Soviet Union has bowed to America's power diplomacy, but Moscow has gained an advantageous position in giving the world the impression that it is a guardian deity of peace." The paper warns that it would be dangerous to believe that Moscow will withdraw from areas of vital interest to the Soviets if the West resorts to a show of force.

SANKEI also expresses a similar view. After editorially praising Khrushchev's "unexpectedly flexible attitude," it says that Khrushchev may have established "an advantageous foothold" in future negotiations with the United States on other international problems, and predicts that the Soviet Union will start a new diplomatic offensive for the withdrawal of American bases abroad for its dismantling of missile bases in Cuba. MAINICHI editorially praises Khrushchev for his "astuteness as a practical statesman," adding that his image as "a man of peace" has been strengthened. It says: "It is often the Soviet strategy to show a strongly menacing attitude at first, then concede later. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that Premier Khrushchev's concession has given the world a favorable impression." The economic journal, NIKON KEIZAI, calls Khrushchev's concession not a matter of victory or defeat in the war of diplomacy but a "victory for man's rationality."

JOAK commentator Goro Fujise observes: "The fact that the United States must allow the continuation of the communist regime in Cuba will become an important matter to the United States from now on and also international criticism of U.S. military bases abroad will become stronger." Stressing that the stern military action taken by the United States against Cuba has fully reflected the fear of the American people for newly installed missiles in Cuba, TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System) commentator Kichizo Karashima expresses the view that the Cuban crisis has made the world realize the necessity of settling the question of military bases.

A panel discussion of top ASAHI, MAINICHI, and YOMIURI commentators aired by TBS agrees that "Japan will find itself in a tight spot if the United States establishes new bases in the future."

Communist AKAHATA comment on Khrushchev's letter stresses the withdrawal of "aggressive weapons" from Cuba on condition that the United States will not invade Cuba, noting that "the brutality of U.S. imperialism has been exposed, amidst the patient and cool action of the Soviet Government."

Nationalist China: The Taipei radio and press are cautious in their appraisal of Khrushchev's decision to dismantle its bases in Cuba. The HSIN SHENG PAO, in an editorial carried by Radio Taipei on 29 October, says experience shows that Khrushchev will ask the United States to pay a high price for dismantling the Soviet bases in Cuba and says that even if these are withdrawn Khrushchev can build more bases in other Latin American countries and other parts of the world. The paper stresses that the only way to solve the Cuban question is to overthrow the Castro regime, a position also maintained by the CENTRAL DAILY NEWS. That paper's editorial warns the United States not to fall into the trap of false negotiations from which Khrushchev will likely seek assurance from the Government not to invade Cuba as part of a bargain.

South Korea: The Seoul radio makes copious use of Western press agency reports for news roundups on the Cuban situation. In a report on 29 October the radio notes Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle the bases in Cuba and says that by consenting to inspection in Cuba the Soviet premier may now face another demand that he accept inspection in other areas of disarmament. In another broadcast on the same day, the radio says that although Khrushchev has decided to dismantle the Soviet bases in Cuba, the United States does not think it easy to surmount the various obstacles which may arise in solving the Cuban question.

South Vietnam: Saigon-Cholon editorialists repeatedly refer to the need for caution lest Khrushchev's move be the source of new trickery. VAN KUO JIH PAO warns of possible Soviet moves in other areas, while THANH CONG JIH PAO expresses fear of a plot to gain time and enable the USSR to complete the missile sites. Area editorialists also stress that the move allows the USSR to maintain its influence in Cuba. One paper states that as long as this influence exists, Khrushchev can use the island as a base for gradually communizing Latin America. Only occasionally mentioned is that Khrushchev's concession is a victory for Kennedy and that more firmness of this kind should be used in dealing with communism. One paper disapproves Kennedy's decision to lift the blockade during U Thant's visit to Cuba.

Australia: The Melbourne AGE is quoted by the Australian overseas service as saying that Kennedy's actions throughout the crisis were "entirely vindicated" by the outcome, but that any elation must be tempered with caution. Although the suddenness with which Khrushchev backed down is surprising, the paper says, it is apparent that Khrushchev was not prepared to risk war over Cuba. That the world was again carried to the brink of war testifies ever more clearly to the need for a "new approach" to East-West relationships and specifically Soviet-American relations, the paper concludes.

Indonesia: Quoting news agency dispatches on developments in Cuba, the Djakarta radio reports Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle the Soviet bases in Cuba and Kennedy's statement praising him for the decision, describing it as an important contribution to peace. However, there has been no monitored official, press, or radio comment. In this connection the Djakarta radio reports without details on 30 October that the Cuban charge d'affaires called on Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo and that the Soviet military attache was received by Gen. Nasution, Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Armed Forces, to discuss the Cuban issue. The Indonesian Information Service quotes statements issued by the Murba Party, the Indonesian Peace Committee, and the Indonesian-Cuban Friendship Association protesting the U.S. blockade and "aggression" against Cuba, none of which make any reference to the Soviet decision to dismantle its bases.

India: The New Delhi radio reports briefly that Premier Nehru sent a message to Kennedy and Khrushchev "expressing relief over the happy turn of events and his real appreciation of their statesmanship, which has helped to remove the immediate danger." In other reports on the Cuban situation, the radio confines itself to brief reports from news agency dispatches.

Other Countries: The Karachi radio reports briefly without comment Khrushchev's announcement to dismantle the bases and Kennedy's statement welcoming this Soviet decision. Monitored Bangkok and Rangoon broadcasts devote little or no attention to Cuban developments. There has been no monitored comment from Laotian or Cambodian stations.

D. Middle East and Africa

Israel: Within a few hours of the Khrushchev message, HAARETZ political commentator Katz tells the Israeli radio audience that "Khrushchev's latest proposal is a retreat, which he is trying to cover up and present before the world as a gesture of peace." In general, the Israeli press interprets Khrushchev's decision as necessitated by America's firmness. According to HAARETZ, the United States has "reconsolidated its position as leader of the Western world, just as President Kennedy has strengthened his position as leader of the American people." The paper adds that the prospects for peace have improved now that the "equilibrium between

the two blocs is today better balanced." HATZOFF says that the threat of an American invasion of Cuba had "a very sobering and deterrent effect in Moscow," since thousands of Soviet officers and technicians would have been casualties. AL-FAMISHMAR praises Khrushchev's "wisdom" and calls for concessions from the United States which could lead to lessening tension, while SHEARIM says the free world has now proved it is strong enough to check Soviet intrigues.

UAR: In noting President Kennedy's remarks about ending the arms race and easing tension, AL-JUMHURIYAH recalls President Nasir's 1960 United Nations speech referring to the elimination of military bases and disarmament. In calling for a general peace conference under the United Nations, the paper says that "now that Kennedy and Khrushchev have admitted that the arms race has caused a severe waste," the best guarantee for the success of disarmament talks is to make "the nonaligned powers the judges." In another article, AL-JUMHURIYAH points out that world peace is indivisible and that it is of no use to speak of peace in the Cuban and Berlin crises and to disregard it elsewhere. According to a Cairo radio commentator, the public must not be deceived into believing the crisis is all over, because the solution does not lie in abolishing bases by one side only.

Syria: The Damascus radio broadcasts a telegram 28 October, from Premier Khelid al-Azm to his "great friend" Khrushchev, in which he expresses admiration for Khrushchev's "brave and noble stand" which has "saved humanity from definite and complete destruction and which is shining proof of self-restraint." The Damascus paper AN-NASR also praises the Soviets' "heroic, noble, wise, and farsighted" stand which "sidestepped a collision," but asks how the positions-of-strength policy can be restrained in the future now that it has had a "successful round" in Cuba and who can guarantee that the United States "will not adopt a similar attitude toward other countries." The paper adds that the United Nations must make clear to the United States that its "law of the jungle" can only lead to a nuclear war of which the "Americans will be the first victims." A Damascus commentator says that the "essence" of the Cuban crisis will continue to exist because Soviet and American military bases are a "danger to the whole world."

Iraq: The Iraqi press and radio commentaries make only oblique references to the Cuban crisis. For example, AL-BILAD praises Premier Qasim's part in "foiling the aggressive plots against the struggling Cuban people" by his statement of 25 October scoring the American blockade, and AL-JUMHUR

stresses the role of world opinion in solving the Cuban crisis. A Baghdad radio commentator stresses Iraq's role as a nonaligned state in settling the crisis and affirms that the people's support of peace is the real curb to the warmongers.

Saudi Arabia: The only Mecca radio commentary says that Nasir has received a "stunning blow at the defeat of his friend and colleague in communism, Castro," adding that the era of dictatorships is over and the era of "genuine popular democracy" has begun.

Iran: Several PARS "Topic of the Day" news commentaries review favorable world reaction to the lowering of tension following the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange. Teheran foresees that one result of the Soviet dismantling of the Cuban bases will be a Khrushchev visit to America within 3 months. The radio concludes that the President's "brilliant Cuban victory" has assured a Democratic Party victory in the congressional elections. According to Ankara radio, the Shah told reporters in Istanbul that he hopes the "encouraging" Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange will lead to a solution of world problems and lessened tension.

Greece: An Athens commentator says that on behalf of the free world, President Kennedy has shown the "greatest possible good faith" since the Khrushchev announcement on the Cuban bases, "thus contributing to an easing of world tension." The commentator asserts that as soon as the United States "neutralized the great danger which directly threatened humanity" it opened negotiations with noteworthy speed.

Turkey: Although Turkey gives adequate news coverage to the Cuban situation, news commentators do not discuss the Cuban crisis. The Ankara radio quotes Turkish Foreign Minister Erkin as terming the Soviet decision "excellent news if true."

Ghana: Comment from Ghana, reported by Radio Accra, praises the efforts of world leaders, and especially Khrushchev, to solve the Cuban crisis and welcomes President Kennedy's reassurances that the United States will not invade Cuba. Other comment reported by Accra credits Nkrumah in part for the "lull" in the Cuban crisis, applauds the mediation efforts of the Ghanaian and UAR delegates to the United Nations, and speaks of Ghana's role in "extracting an assurance from the United States that it would not invade Cuba." The Accra international service reports that Nkrumah sent a letter to Khrushchev congratulating him on the "bold decision" to dismantle missile bases in Cuba, a letter to President Kennedy welcoming his "timely and important reassurances that the United States will not invade Cuba," and a letter to Castro congratulating him on his "readiness to agree to halt the construction of missile bases."

A GHANAIAI TIMES editorial says that by agreeing to dismantle the missile bases Khrushchev has "made the biggest concession to mankind," and adds that though the presence of missiles in Cuba would undoubtedly have created another area of tension, the United States had no justification for the blockade of shipments to Cuba. "An Accra radio commentary says Khrushchev's action was the more significant in that it was taken without any known reciprocal gesture by President Kennedy." Though President Kennedy's reassurance that the United States will not invade Cuba is "most welcome," the commentary adds, it is to be hoped that in giving the reassurance "direct invasion was not the only method Mr. Kennedy had in mind." Other comment reviewed by the Accra radio calls for steps to eliminate all ground-to-ground missile sites established outside the territories of powers providing and controlling such weapons.

Nigeria: Nigerian press comment, according to the Lagos radio, praises the Soviet Union's role during the current Cuban crisis and calls on the United States to "demonstrate in no uncertain terms that it is not, after all, the warmongering party." The Lagos DAILY EXPRESS describes Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle the missile sites as both "statesmanlike and courageous." The DAILY TELEGRAPH says the Soviet Premier decided to "give back peace to the world at a time when the hopes of peace were several degrees below zero." The TELEGRAPH adds that Khrushchev chose the road of peace not because the Soviet Union could not strike, but in the interests of world peace, and calls on the United States to follow suit by dismantling its bases around the Soviet Union "because it must not be expected that only Mr. Khrushchev should demonstrate statesmanship." The progovernment MORNING POST says the U.S. blockade of Cuba and the Soviet Union's handling of the situation proved to the world that "the Soviets are better diplomats than the Americans," adding that "for a long time to come" the Americans will "have to convince the world that they are not the ones who cause trouble and threaten the happy existence of man." Americans should not think that what they did over Cuba helped in any way to secure world peace, the paper concludes.

Other Countries: Ghanaian President Nkrumah's messages to Khrushchev, Kennedy, and Castro are also reported by other West African transmitters. A Moscow PRAVDA commentary praising Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle Cuban missile bases is reported by Senegal and Dahomey radios.